J. H. HAWES, Business Manager.

NEW ERA BUILDING, 406 11TH STREET.

PRICES OF SUBSCRIPTIONS: Single copies, \$2.50 per year five copies for \$10, payable in advance. ADDRESS: PUBLISHERS NEW ERA, Lock Box 31.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

the Students.

Celebration at Lincoln University The Fifteenth Amendment-Grand Proces

ston-Speeches by the Friends, Faculty and

In pursuance of a request by the Pennsyl apart the 26th day of April as a day to celebrate, throughout the State, the passage of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the students did celebrate it in such a manner that will long be remembered, not only by them, but the many spectators who had come to witness the rejoicings.

PROCESSION.

At ten o'clock Mr. M. M. Lewey, marshal, assisted by Mr. R. P. Brooks, formed the students in line a short distance from the chapel, where the celebration took place; after passing through a few exercises in quite a soldierly manner, the line of march was directed towards the chapel, which was handsomely decorated with the American flags, and portraits of great and good men of the nation. On enand the cadence of step and the manner of the prosperity of the whole nation is yours for marching would have reflected credit to a company of well disciplined cadets.

ORGANIZATION.

Prayer by Rev. Wm. R. Bingham, Mr. M M. Lewey chairman pro tem. Mr. E. Greene offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the officers of this meeting and the fruit. be as follows : President, Mr. Isaac B. Tembrook; Vice Presidents, Messrs. Wm. R. Templeton, Wm. H. Lynch, Joshua A. Aldridge, James O. Adams, Samuel J. Bamfield, and Chas. W. Mossell; Secretaries, Messrs. M. M. Lewey and Jas. W. Morris; Sergeant-at-Arms. Mr. Wm. H. Little.

The president took the chair and spoke in manner suitable for the occasion, after which Mr. Lewey read the following resolutions: which were unanimously received:

Whereas by the will of Divine Providence and the instrumentalities of man, an achievement has been accomplished, namely: an act of manhood recognition, by the passage of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and whereas, agreeable to the request promulgated by the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League setting apart the 26th day of April as a day of celebration in honor of this long prayed-for period when the right of citizenship would be accorded to all in this our beloved land of the free and home of the brave : Therefore, be it-

Resolved, That the students of Lincoln University assembled, hail with joy and gratitude the grand and noble triumph of true democracy in the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, thereby proclaiming the absolute design of the Declaration of Independence, viz: "All men

are created equal.' Resolved, That this sublime idea of perfect equality before the law for every male citizen of America has been only a theory, is now a living and everlasting reality established by the thousands of victims who perished beneath our banner in war, through which we have just past; and the adoption of the fifteenth amendment, it has been made perpetual in the heart of every patriot, for the homage which it attributes to God and blessings of universal hu- remember that God was the inventor of this

Resolved, That a republican form of government cannot exist in harmony and perpetuate tranquility without an impartial diffusion of knowledge, for in knowledge there is power; therefore, in view of the responsibilities resting upon us as citizens, we ask in the name of all that affords happiness among men, in the flict which had continued in this country for name of humanity, of God, that the system of free schools in the several States may embrace all the citizens, the rich and poor alike; God is maker of them all.

Resolved. That we look not at the past oppressive measures which have been inflicted upon us by the dogmas of John C. Calhoun, Havne and others, which darken the land with most heinous crimes conceivable by the human mind; but we ask that the dead past bury its | He then said that these compromises, like al dead, gives our sentiment to a noble and higher other compromises, where principles are in purpose in amelioration of humanity.

Resolved, That we now return our thanks to

Almighty God, the patriotic people of the country, the soldiers and sailors of the Union; and we shall ever remember the name of Lincoln, the martyr, Sumner the expounder, and Grant, the defender, as the champions of the rights of a free people, especially as the deliverers of a race of people from bondage and oppression, and by their life-long services in the cause of humanity and the prosperity of the country, they have enrolled their names on the imperishable pages of history. And that our highest aims will have been accomplished when we shall have arisen to a standard of intelligence and refinement worthy of the great boon conferred upon us by the Congress of the United States and the progressive people of the land.

PRESIDENT RENDALL'S REMARKS.

Rev. O. N. Rendall was then introduced amid great applause, and spoke as follows: There is always danger that government ad-

preserve the Union there was a response which, ministered by imperfect men should fail to sewhile it amazed, delighted every patriot and cure the objects for which government is es- every lover of justice. In this contest the coltablished, or that, in securing these objects, ored people knew which was the right side, and there should be a dangerous accumulation of they held fast to it. In those dreadful days power in the hands of the administrators. they were true to the country, and now the Many ways have been devised to secure this in- country was true to them. The gift of suffrage terest and to prevent this evil. In our country is an acknowledgement of their patriotism and this end is accomplished by a written Constitu- services, and of the justice long due them. this document some interests are put beyond the peril of legislation, even by majorithe questions which have so long distracted the ties, by being put beyond party discussion and country. With confidence we may now say party votes. Our Constitution limits the power "Let us have peace." The hindrances are of the Government and defines the mode in out of the way. The speaker then referred to which its functions shall be exercised, so that the fact that this gift was a grant which could shall not become dangerous to liberty; not be recalled; and that as a part of the funand defines the fundamental inalienable rights damental law of the land, no power but that of of the people, which legislation shall not the whole people, of which they were now a con-

abridge or restrict.

In completing their work our fathers did not to act well their part in all the duties of citizens; pronounce it perfect, but provided that it should to be true to their country in the future as in be changed as the circumstances of the people the past and the country would be true to and an enlarged experience might suggest. them. They embodied the principles of civil liberty and responsible government in which they had been educated in the Constitution, which they handed down to us; and devolved upon us not of a new right—the right of giving a vote. an unthinking adherence to the very forms in which they had cast their thought, but the responsibility of giving a free and full development to those principles. And thus, by their who make and execute a nation's laws, is to own acts, we are admonished of the wrong which give him a substantive part in the government was attempted in their name, when the diminution of acknowledged evils was forbidden, on the ground that the work which they had done was perfect. It argues no want of reverence for the fathers to change the Constitution, pro- a regard to His glory, and with a ense of oblivided only the changes we effect promote the gation to Him as governor amon he nations object for which the Government is established, and judge of all. and are amendments in the sense of being improvements. The fifteenth amendment, the from this responsibility, but that you accept it ratification of which we celebrate to-day, is with a full sense of what it involves, and with a magnificent style. The students, in procession such an improvement in every sense. It brings hearty determination to meet its demands. Re- with transparencies, torchlights, &c.,&c., passed into consistency and harmony the Declaration | member that you are a constituent part of the | each professor's house with music and cheers. of Independence and the fundamental law, and body-politic, and that therefore it behooves you It was regreted very much that previous endiency and the principles of right. It is a vote | for the head of commonwealth.

N H



VOL. I.—NO. 17.}

study. It will not protect your interests or

rights, except as you understand them, and

make a wise use of this advantage. Under the

protection of the laws you now assume the re-

duty, not merely to enjoy these advantages,

but to perpetuate them by promoting with all

your influence and power the general diffusion

of Christian education, of which all our na-

tional liberties and prosperity are the outgrowth

MUSIC.

"My Country 'tis of Thee."

REMARKS OF REV. WM. R. BINGHAM.

would simply sympathize and express his wish-

spoke of the Constitution when it was first

framed that it read backward and they tortur-

matter how good an instrument it is, it must

be put in goed hands for use. He said it took

Constitution, and that power in the right hands

is fundamental. He also spoke of the Consti-

touching manner to the old flag, and said if

God ever put into the hands of any men on

necessity of avoiding the men that have tena-

the condition that they themselves have escap-

ed. He said that God had passed over the

land, and this was the result, and that Abraham

this end. He then urged the lasting remem-

brance of Lincoln, and Doctor Dicky, and, in

energetic efforts in the promotion and welfare

of the University; and, after entreating all to

great deed, he resumed his seat amid loud ap-

REMARKS OF PROF. WESTCOTT.

more than four score years. He referred to

in 1787; to some of the questions by which

that Constitution was agitated; and especial-

ly to the difficulties which grew out of the ex-

istence of slavery in the land, and to the com-

volved, were fraught with evil, and that they

only postponed the issue. Then remarking

land, a party always true to the principles of

prominent events and leaders in it. The abo-

lition of the slave trade, the Compromises of

conflict in the West just before the rebellion,

stages of progress in the "irrepressible conflict"

which was so long waged. Then with the re-

fluences the conscience of the North had been

greatly quickened during the ten years which

preceded the rebellion on the subject of Ameri-

can slavery, and when the call was made to

The ratification of this amendment settles

stituent part, could alter it. It summoned them

REMARKS OF PROF. BOWER.

amendment you have come into the possession

This right, like all similar rights, is a duty.

To invest anyone with the right of suffrage,

with the prerogative of casting a vote for those

It is, therefore, not simply a privilege, but a

solemn, sacred trust. It is a religious duty, a

duty to be performed in the fear of God, out of

I rejoice to believe that you do not shrink

of the nations.

promises of the Constitution on account of it

He began by remarking that the ratification

plause.

of confidence in humanity, inasmuch as it de-One essential element of the national life is clares that humanity in you had lost none of unity; disunion is death; factions are the its prerogatives or powers. And you ought to curses of the nation. Rise above all factions

trust that nature in your older fellow citizens and above all merely party spirit. which is thus honored in you. It is in the in-Another essential element of the national life is Cristianity. If this be destroyed, the national terests of justice, inasmuch as it intrusts the

power to protect your rights and interests under life is destroyed. the Government to your own hands, where, if I rejoice to believe that you will by the exeranywhere, it may be safely trusted. To-day cise of the elective franchise preserve both you feel it as a change in all the novelty of new | those essential elements of our national life. relations, and under the stimulus of new ad- Almost the first votes cast by the colored peovantages; and by this circumstance you are in | ple under the provisions of this amendment danger of expecting from it magical results. settled the question of the use of the Bible in vania State Equal Rights League, setting Enfranchisement will not secure the advan- the public schools in Cincinnati on the side of tages of wealth, except as you supply the in- | Protestant Christianity. And I do not doubt dustry which always wins prosperity. It will that in every struggle you will be found on the not remove the disabilities of ignorance; they side of unity and Christianity. will only disappear before patient, persevering

At the conclusion of Prof. Bower's address, Mr. Morrell offered the following :

Resolved. That this meeting adjourn to con-

ene at three o'clock P. M.

sponsibilies of the future. The people of the AFTERNOON PROCEEDINGS. United States have said by this amendment that President in the chair. Mr. Woodruff, Princiall civil disabilities shall be removed, all obpal of the Preparatory Department, was called structions of the law shall be taken out of your for. His speech was short but interesting. He way; that no man and no State shall hinder believed that man ought to have some honor in you in your lawful efforts to improve your porecognizes you as a part of itself. Do not per- done through the influence of Divine Provipetuate the evils from which you have suffered dence. He also referred to the state of the tering the chapel Mr. E. W. Hollinsworth, who by distinguishing yourselves from the whole as country ten or twenty years ago. He could not presided at the organ, played a marching air, a separate part. The strength, the intelligence, have thought that one hundred years could have made such a change in our national affairs. After a few remarks on the prosperity of the protection and enjoyment, as you contribute your quota to the general stock. As students country, he took his seat amid great applause. of Lincoln University it is your privilege and

REMARKS OF DR. HOUSTON. He said he was glad to be present on the ocasion, and to welcome the colored man to that position which accords to him the highest gift

f citizenship the elective franchise. for rejoicing, not because sanguinary battles have been fought and victory is perched upon our standard, but because our country has repented, and now metes out justice to her chil-He said he did not come to speak, but that he dren. We rejoice that we are enabled to recognize in the black man a member of our es in the grand act, the passage of which we common brotherhood, and that we accord to are now celebrating There is a power in the him the God-given right of equality in civil country which ought to be in good hands. He government. It is true, the Declaration of American Independence recognized that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creaed it until it was no Constitution at all. No tor with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. the amendment to work out the falsity of the instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That this doctrine was as true on the fourth day of tution as being ours, and referred in a very July, 1776, as it is to-day, none can deny, yet how long have we been in fulfilling these pledges of our forefathers, which for nearly one hunearth a power for the future welfare of them- dred years have been daily presented to a sufselves, and to whom higher hopes have been fering and patient people. What suffering, committed, it was their people. He urged the what misery, what woe has been entailed throughout all this time upon the black man ciously combined heart and hand to keep us in of this nation because the white man has been God? But the day of reparation has come. and the colored man stands to-day a power in Lincoln was the rod in God's hand for effecting our Government. But this power comes not without responsibility, and he who wields the ballot must bear his share of the trust confided speaking of Mr. Dickey, he referred to his to our keeping.

He also said that he regreted that the work of preparing the freedman for the responsible trust of citizenship progressed so slowly. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. But as there is a divinity within us which shapes our ends, we must labor and must wait, and I trust that in his own good time all will of the fifteenth amendment terminated a con-

He said that men to be men must be enlightened by knowledge and virtue. Ignorant men the Convention which formed the Constitution are only food for demagogues as the past history of our country lamentably proves, and that we must not now feel that because equal citizenship has been accorded to manhood that the work is ended. We cannot cease until education has been made general and as free as the air of Heaven. In referring to the students he said: You voluntarily assumed a position which throws around your shoulders a mantle of responsibility greater than rests on your that there had been from that day to this in the fellows. You are destined to be the lights of your people, and I care not what be your vocajustice and of freedom, he traced briefly the tion or walk through life, this trust will ever progress of the conflict, noting some of the be resting upon you. You are teachers of your people. To you is presented the golden opportunity of writing your names high upon 1820 and 1850, the fugitive slave bill, and the the table of fame. No avenue of distinction is now barred to your entrance. The nation has were referred to. These now only showed the thrown wide her portals leading to honor and usefulness and bids you enter. See to it that you falter not at this critical moment. The bellion came the final struggle. By various ineyes of your fellow-citizens are intensely fixed upon you. Your friends praying daily for your success-your enemies for your downfall. Your duty is a plain one, press onward and upward. You stand to-day upon a sovereign equality before God and man. Your friends will extend to you all the facilities for education which your white brothers enjoy. But the rest is all with you. The race will then be fairly begun, and you must demonstrate the problem of your intellectuality unaided and alone. No only your character and reputation is at stake, but that of your Alma Master also.

You may never feel nor know with what prayerful solicitude the gentlemen composing the faculty of Lincoln University watch over your every interest. Your success is their success. Your disgrace is their disgrace. Store your minds with useful knowledge, omit no ished. opportunity of acquiring information. You are destined to undergo a trying ordeal in demonstrating to the ignorance and prejudice with which you will be surrounded, that you are gentlemen of education and cultivation.

After this Mr. Dickey was called for, and he arose and cited a few of the responsibilities upon which we were about to enter, and admonished all to look well to their footsteps, and to consider that to be successful in the fu-He said: By the passage of the fifteenth ture depended on our fidelity to the commandments of God.

> At the conclusion of his speech many of the students were called for. Among those who spoke were J. A. Aldridge, J. O. Adams, Chas. W. Mossell, S. J. Bampfield, Wm. H. Little, Wm. A. Lynch, Wm. R. Templeton, Wm. H. Ash, Walter H. Brooks, and M. M. Lewey. tion; which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved. That the proceedings of this celebration be forwarded to the New ERA, Christian Recorder, and New York Enterprise for the tyrant to mount to a throne over the liber-

Adjourned. In the evening the professors houses and college buildings were illuminated in the most ends controversy between the theory of expe- to act not for merely selfish or local ends, but gagements prevented the presence of Rev. J.

Peter H. Clark's Speech.

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1870.

Before the Members of the Grand Army of the Republic.

COMRADES OF POST No. 35: Addressing a Post of the Grand Army of the Republic upon an occasion of great rejoicing, and when none but joyful words are appropriate, I yet feel that I will be pardoned if I pause a moment to eulogize the virtues, bewail the loss, and drop a tear upon the bier of the heroic soldier, the true gentleman and patriot, General George H. Thomas, whose funeral cortage is even now wending its sad way across the continent.

If testimony is sought of the superiority of American institutions over all others, it can certainly be found in the fact that men of such heroic mold are bred in our country in such numbers. As one by one they drop away-Lincoln, Stanton, and Thomas-we think sorrowfully of our loss, and say surely no jewel so bright as this remains in our treasury. But the heroic breed survives, and each new crisis finds a son of the soil, born or adopted, fitted to grapple with it.

To my mind, General Thomas' life presented a perfect model of a brave, unselfish, magnanimous soldier. He possessed, in the highest degree, the two qualities needed to make the soldier-fortitude and bravery. The flower of success grows only in deep valleys of misfortune, where fell disasters tower on all sides. this great act of universal suffrage; that we hides the light of hope, or on the highest moun sition and advance your interests. The nation | should look upon it as something that men had | tains, available only to the brave heart and

clear head of a hero. At Chickamauga, when the routed army of Rosecrans was swept before the onset of the Southern forces as a November wind drives the fallen leaves of a forest, Thomas with his division stood firm, breasting a wave more terrible than that of the fiercest Atlantic gale. It was an army of lions, happily led by a lion.

Other commanders, whose faltering troops had lost hope, gathered around him and his brave division, and victory was wrung from the iron grasp of defeat. The whole army, Chattanooga, and the cause of the Union and liberty were saved. I have read of Kleber and his veterans at Mount Tabor, of the McDonald's charge at Wagram, of Wellington's Old Guard He remarked that this is emphatically a time at Waterloo, but nothing in history, to my mind, equals the bravery of that division and their noble commander on that fatal field of Chickamanga.

> At Nashville, too, he proved that when his udgment assured him that the moment to strike had come, no more gallant heart than his ever when the belief of but one man is at stake, or led a charge. American schoolmasters need never point

their pupils to the name of the Roman Fabricius, while the career of George H. Thomas enables them to point to an American, whose life was brave, unselfish, honest, patriotic, and grand in all the elements which make up the character of a good citizen and a good soldier. But, to my subject. One hundred years ago,

on the fifth day of this month, there was occur-I call your attention to-night. A crowd of men, excited by the discussion of the questions then agitating the minds of the colonists, whose hearts had been fired by the rallying cries of the Sons of Liberty, who had been taught "that taxation without representation is tyranny." were in bloody collision with a party of British soldiers.

The leader of the citizens, according to the accounts of the day, was a gigantic mulatto. who led his followers up to the muzzles of the guns of the soldiers, striking with his club upon their bayonets, and daring them to fire. They did fire, and he fell dead with a bullet unfaithful to truth, to humanity, and to his through each breast, his clothing burnt by the near discharge of the muskets.

The respectability of Boston, as loudly as it dared, said he was served rightly. They were opposed to the stamp act, to the tax on tea. paper, glass, and painters' colors; but they, the decorous, high stepping old gentlemen, did not propose to be led in their struggles by a negro. John Adams volunteered to defend the soldiers, and a jury of respectable Bostonians acquitted them of the charge of murder.

Perhaps you or I would have sided with the respectability of Boston, had we been there to look upon that unsightly corpse, in the chill gray of that early spring morning. What were stamp acts and taxes to him, a mulatio, probably a slave? He gave no notes, mortgages, deeds, or bonds. He probably had no glass in the windows of his poor cabin. Tea and sugar were luxuries foreign to his palate. Why did the fool go into the difficulty? Adams and Otis did not mean him when they declaimed against tyranny. It was a white man's quarrel. Poor fool, who pitied him, save, perhaps, the sorrowing wife and little ones, whose husband and father had been roused by the sweet words of liberty, and rushed from his country

home seeking freedom, but finding only a bloody He was buried and forgotten; but events of grander import rapidly followed. Then came the other April morning, when the yeomanry of Concord and Lexington replied with their rifles to the demand of the Ministers of the British King. Then came the Declaration of Independence. How grandly it sounded, the opening period: "All men are created free and equal." Yet those grave old gentlemen assembled in Carpenter's Hall had in their minds, when they appealed to posterity to vindicate the wisdom of their course, their own blue-eyed, fair-haired children, playing in their homes, around the the knees of their fair mothers. They did not dream that the offspring of the Dinahs and Junos and Chloes of their kitchens and plantations would some day rise up and claim their share in the glorious heri-

tage of American freedom. But Crispus Attucks was wiser than he seemed. The light of liberty rising in the Western Hemisphere was destined to irradiate the homes of all, black and white, rich and poor, who dwelt in this land. The mere human instinct made him feel that every word spoken against England's tyranny, softened his

When a deed is done for freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from And the slave where'er he cowers, feels the soul

within him climb To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny

To-day Crispus Attucks and John Brown, fools such as freedom makes, stand vindicated. We reap the harvest which their blood nour-

As a sign of our equal citizenship, we find and eleventh centuries, when, to be fostered by ourselves, to-day, clothed with the ballot, an Irish woman, to marry one, to speak the Floods of advice will be given, and I propose Irish language, or give an allegiance to Irish to advise from the standpoint of a colored man. customs, was treason; when an Irish horse How smoothly he will lie, and how hard it will be to tell the true man from the false. The people are too prone to grow wearied with the sion, and found that neither its weapons nor its of the future come up; what is the right to sively arrayed will cease. The States, in ratidiscussion of a question when two men, both apparently honest, seek their support for differ-

To avoid this danger we must seek to learn the faults for ourselves. We will not wait until bonfires are blazing in the market spaces and tions we must admit, since we have not informed ourselves.

In the name of patriotism we will be asked to cast votes which will tend to the destruction of the country. The demagogue himself does not always see the logical result of his doctrines. Intent upon obtaining some rich po-Mr. Bampfield offered the following resolu- litical prize, he loses sight of all evil consequences which may flow from his positions. It is always some pretense of superior devotion to law, order, morality and religion, which

wins the confidence of the people, and enables ties of the people. that the American people were led to sanction the destruction of anti-slavery newspapers, the mobbing of speakers, the denial of the right of went on : petition. In the name of the Union and liberty our whole land was made the hunting ground

dom was denied.

the ballot. I find even a soft place in my heart | con, 'I have seen many young converts, and

If they will not forget and forgive, I am still sorry for them. Burns pitied even the devil:

"I'm wae to think upo your den, Even for your sake

We must not suppose that the ballot will weep away all social distinctions. The theory of the American government is, that men widely separated by social lines, by poverty and wealth, by ignorance and culture, and race, may live quietly together, meeting on a grand polical level, but separate in all else.

Education and wealth are the levers with which social distinction may be leveled, and with the ballot we may gain the standing-ground for the acquisition of these.

Finally, we must remember that the great power bestowed upon us must be used unselfishly, not for our benefit only, but for the benefit of all. White men are not devils, or alien folly of their words by rushing to the other enemies, as some would have us think, who may be fairly despoiled under the law of reprisals. Many of them have laid their lives upon the altar of our freedom. Many have accepted lives of poverty, of social and political debasement, for our sakes. I need only name Loveoy and Birney and Bailey and Phillips and Garrison, whose commanding talents would have placed them at the head of the men of their generation, but who cast in their lot with far beyond the primer, the how to study, and us, preferring slavery with us to freedom with

Let us emulate their unselfishness, and cast ur votes with the desire to benefit all.

Casting a ballot is a sacred rite, and should have solemn and sacred surroundings. compel a man to raise his hand and swear to tell the truth as he shall answer to God, even like the six chartists in 1832 mark out what property worth one cent. How much inore should we surround the act of voting with solemn adjuncts, when the fate of millions may depend upon it. Finally, we should stand by the Union as the

chief defense of the liberties of all: stand by it, not as the end of political action, but as the great engine by which liberty may be best pro-

Speech of R. T. Greener, Esq.

Among the many grand Celebrations through out the country, the one at Troy, New York, deserves especial mention. It was a success throughout, and the orator of the day greatly contributed to the success. Most of our readers are already familiar with the name of R. T. GREENER, as a valued correspondent to this

This brings us down to the address of the vening, that of Mr. R. T. Greener, a young olored gentleman from Harvard, whose talents ertainly qualify him for any position in the ountry. Indeed in every sense Mr. Greener s another evidence of the utter falsehood of the calumny that the black man is incapable of any superior educational development. Our present speaker has a broad open countenance, a graceful carriage, a voice of great sweetness, and, if necessary, power, and a pronunciation faultless. Frequent and well merited applause interrupted the graceful flow of his periods, and the impression left upon the audience-an audience which included many of the most intelligent whites in our midst-was one of pure and entire gratification. He had perfect command of himself and spoke with perfect composure, and yet with the utmost modesty and respect for his audience. Except in the case of Wendell Phillips, we have never listened to a more perfect enunciation, every syllable of the address having been distinctly heard in the remotest corner of the building. As this was by far the best effort of the whole celebration, we make no apology for treating our readers to some portions of the speech verbatim. Lacking the room to treat them to the whole cake, we will content ourselves with offering a few

After some introductory remarks, the speak-

It is scarcely necessary to revert to the struggovernment, has embodied in the contest for our rights the symbol of liberty and equality. It has been said that our history in this country has been its romance; but it might have been as truly said, I imagine that it has been also its tragedy. The slave ship, the slave hut and pen, the overseers' whip, and the burning tears of separated husband and wife, and the equally cruel caste and proscription which has hounded the negro when free from the cradle to the grave, have mingled in far unequal proportions the romantic with the tragic. They will live in the history of the tive feelings by us, but to be read as warnings against injustice, to be cited as sad examples of that perversion which noble principles may undergo, when the children drift from the teachings of the fathers, when expediency and wrong are substituted for right. We are asgress of the United States has re-enacted justice, and the chief executive officer, has gladly given it his sanction. My first emotions, like yours, are of gratitude and joy. I thank God hat we have been permitted to see this day, for which our fathers have longed and died without the sight; that to us, far more unworthy, the promised land of civil liberty lies spread open, with its plains and valleys, aye, with its quicksands and deserts.

After noticing the great historical truth that all reform is at most a revival, and that especially Anglo-Saxon reform is tardy in produ ing its work, Mr. Greener said :

"I thought once that we were the only ones on whom a price was placed-to whom were offered inducements to forget our race-to be traitors to our best blood. But when I read the Irish code, running away back to the tenth First, we shall beware of the demagogue, couldn't pasture in an English field-I found the source from which the old slave code came -I had discovered the old arsenal of oppres-

we have had justice done us.' Mr. Greener went on to show that the negro did not need any special legislation. Indeed, as a principle, the colored man did not need "Troy ought to-day to be supporting two or

of slave-hunters, and the sacred writ of free- divinity and law schools throughout the country. Boston and New York city ought to be M. Dickey, D. D., and Rev. E. E. Adams, D D | we are prone to trust any one who utters it. | hear frequent exhortation as to our duty, and | thank God, in the nature of things, they never | equality with a bold, wicked man.

\$2.50 a year in advance 5 Copies for \$10.

We must beware of any man who addresses in view of these it behooves us to preserve that arguments to us which cannot be addressed to equipoise of character which shall enable us any other American citizen. What benefits to see what our duty is before we hasten to act. one of our countrymen benefits all, and he who A friend of mine had just been converted. He seeks to array class against class, white against | was a man of quite excitable temperament, and black, black against white, rich against poor, after he felt perfectly sure that he was saved, poor against rich, watch him-he is an enemy he threw up his hands and went about shout ing and praying, and calling on every one to We must be patient and forgiving with those repent. He met a shrewd old deacon, an exwho differ in politics now, or who have differed | cellent judge of character, and an exemplary in the past. We should not hold any man our and earnest Christian. 'Deacon B.,' said the enemy who has differed or will differ from us, convert. I feel so happy I wish to tell all the provided he manifests his difference by the le- world. I must go forth and preach, and save gitimate methods of the press, the rostrum and the sinners.' 'My dear brother,' said the deafor our Democratic opponents. If they are have known few who did not have the same willing to forget and forgive, then I am willing | feelings that you express, but it has been my to join hands with them in promoting the glory experience that one can serve the Lord best by of our country and the freedom of all our just letting the world go, and tending to onesel See that you stay converted; the Lord wil look out for the rest of mankind.

Now my application of this story is this Many of our friends, many of us, probably, expect that we are going to blossom out at once into chief justices, first-class lawyers, statesmen, editors, ministers, all to order. Now don't expect any such phenomena, and I should be sorry if we had any such prophetic hopes to make good at the expense of our normal proper development. We have never asserted our superiority yet as a race, nor acknowledged our inferiority. The burden of proof lies with those who called us baboons, and said we wouldn't study if we got a chance, wouldn't work after we had enough to eat. I do not think that many educated people ever honestly believed these assertions, but they were handy to use while fighting against our rights. They would like to see us now attempt to prove the extreme, and by attempting to fill positions for which we are not fitted by training and education. I know of many philanthropic people, who are giving much money to establish num bers of freedmen's schools, who will not help a tolerably well educated young man in the same | O beautiful! my Country! Ours once more! city through a theological seminary. Many will help the negro to learn his primer, but will not tell the colored boy at the North, who is the methods of improving himself, which Humboldt did not think beneath his dignity to unfold to the young but poor student Agassiz, in

his humble lodgings in Paris. No great reform has ever originated from the rulers of a people, because of the low water-mark of political morality. A few men they want, and begin to agitate for it.

In 1867 a liberal Parliament comes up to the standard of the six men of 1832. O'Connell's room and his ten men are the agitators for Catholic emancipation, and Garrison and his colored boy as assistant is the little lever which overturned the bulwarks of slavery. But while acknowledging the dependence of premiers and statesmen on the men of ideas, the chosen few who begin reforms, let us not forget the parties actual, who are as necessary to the reformer as | men, that the colored people have no other rethe latter is to them, to give that high moral purpose which shall carry its banner in triumph over the ramparts of the enemy, or strengthen the rank and file in the hour of de-

We have such a party in the grand Republican party, the inheritors of the traditions of the old liberty party. The best blood of the old Whigs and Free Soilers entered into its composition, while the ultra abolitionists. though outwardly blaming it, in secret sent up their fervent prayers for its success. The note which it struck in 1856 showed that it had strong lungs and was destined for a vigorous outh, a healthy and useful manhood. I know. my friends, that the Democratic press have prophesied that we would not cling to the party which has stood by us-that our allegiance was forfeited by the new condition of things which the Fifteenth Amendment introduces. When Napoleon, after a hard fought battle, had captured one of the Turkish chieftains, and in admiration of his valor was telmayst save thyself the trouble; my master knows me better than thou cans't."

So do we answer those who imagine what they would fain have occur, that we will forget the party by whose agency the republic has been saved and our rights restored. They may save themselves that trouble, who speak of our ties being severed which bind us to the Republican party, our master knows us better than they possibly can. Is the obligation then so He strikes at the root of the present difficulsmall which binds us to that great party that we can lightly break it? I trust not, I know not, and I should only insult that generosity and gratitude which are universally our characteristics, did I, on this happy occasion,

broach such a thought. We have not forgotten what this party of Freedom, this party of ideas has accomplished. We have not torgotten its leader who has done more than he promised. We find its record in the free soil of Kansas, which it saved from the border ruffians and the slave driver, in the slaves of rebels whom it freed, in the refusal the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the prohibition of slavery forever in the territories.

Has it not recognized the independence of layti and Liberia? Did it not give us Lincoln, who gave us the proclamation? But it did not rest satisfied with giving the black soldier a right to fight for his country. It also flung around his wife and children the protecting arms of the country. To it we owe the admission of the testimony of colored people in the District of Columbia, the right of the colored people in that District to ride in the public conveyances. By its party vote was slavery | ment. formally abolished. By its vote the civil rights oill supplemented that measure, and by its still more comprehensive and just policy has the amendment which we celebrate to-night became a reality. Could we ask more than this record for fourteen years of existence? Could we ask more than this for ten years of power? Wherever it has planted the flag of the Union. as the symbol of its authority, freedom and

But, fellow-citizens, as I have said, I feel tonight more like keeping silence, more like standing dumb in the presence of this mighty change, more like crying with the poet-

> "Lord forgive us, what are we, That our eyes this glory see, That our ears have heard the sound! It is done!

In the circuit of the sun Shall the sound thereof go forth It shall bid the sad rejoice, It shall give the dumb a voice, It shall fill with joy the earth !" But in the midst of the silence of thankful-

plans were new. When I think of these things vote if it bring not that equality, that recogni-I am thankful that in so short a space of time tion of our manhood, which no mere slip of paper with a name on it can ever bestow? North have been nominally free-that is, we have been permitted to exist, but the hotel rockets whizzing through the air, and then take any separate church; but they would be necest the cars, the places of amusement, and often our politics from some orator whose declara- sary for some time yet, even for those who were the hospital and the graveyard, have been fit, in everything but negrophobia, for Heaven. closed against us. A proscription has been And in a far larger sense was there need for exercised against us which seems like a page able colored speakers, lawyers, statesmen, and torn out of the English persecutions of the editors, to watch the interests of their race. Jews. And yet many well disposed of our Because the feeling of caste is not dead. If white fellow citizens have done this, winked Mr. Greeley should invite Sella Martin to the at, "shared in the plunder, but pitied the man." Tribune staff, or Parke Goodwin hurry to re- This is the fear which makes my few remarks of labor-no more immigration of bone and tain him for the Post, or New York State should to-night more like a dirge, perhaps, than a make Frederick Douglass governor, he was sure pean of joy. I do not believe one-third of the the most zealous of the colored race would not American people have forgotten their feeling of show the slightest greenish tinge, but rather caste. I am afraid, judging from analogy, that rejoice that the results of the statute books it will take some time yet, much calm, laudable were beginning to act upon the hearts and feel- work on our part, before they do forget. There ties of the people. It was in the name of the Union and liberty ored people owed to the support of their own will never be eradicated. There are others who great men, was that of looking out for and have vulnerable points. Give me one black educating their own able boys. Mr. Greener Jim Fisk, and I will guarantee that no hotel, nor steamboat, nor opera, nor theatre, either closes its doors to him, or if it opens them, three students at Yale or Harvard, or the many consigns him to a back seat. Do not under-

RATES FOR YEARLY ADVERTISEMENTS.

ising square in this paper.

Any space less than ten lines is charged the rate of a full All advertisements occupying less than a quarter of a col ents inserted for a less time than three months

re charged transient rates.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

TRANSIENT ADVERTISING RATES

will be on a social level. Society happily regulates itself, opening its doors gradually to merit, and endeavoring, if it does not always suced, to keep out shoddy and sham. No nobler caste can exist in any country

han that which proceeds from noble and virtuous deeds and lives, when adorned by culture and wealth. But it is not against these that raise my voice. It is rather that meaner, infinitely smaller and insignificant spirit which would give us all the political rights of citizens, while in the common conveniences, needs and advantages of the State, it wishes us either to have no share or to accept them as a gratuity-the spirit which builds up separate negro schools when the State furnishes them for all-which allows the servants of the public to discriminate in regard to the public. Many of these things we may not hope to alter at once, nor be discouraged if they do not immediately disappear, but strive so earnestly, so determinedly and patiently after all that is worthy of attainment in education, wealth and upright conduct, that our enemies shall be ashamed of their unseemly prejudices.

To the future, then, O friends, let us cast our hopeful gaze. Let no further thoughts of the sad past, which this amendment closes out forever, interfere with or slacken our efforts in behalf of what is now in deed and in truth our country. With a step more buoyant, a lighter heart, and a straighter back, and clearer because with more hopeful eye we assume our ust position in our native land, forgetful of wrong, emulous of all good deeds. Bow down in prayer and praise! . No poorest in thy borders but may now lift to the juster skies a

man's enfranchised brow. Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,

And letting thy set lips, Freed from wrath's pale eclipse, The rosy edges of their smile lay bare; What words divine of lover or of poet ould tell our love or make thee know it? among the nations bright beyond compare!

What were our lives without thee? We reck not what we gave thee: We will not dare to doubt thee; But ask whatever else, and we will dare

The Southern Question.

BY FRANK H. FLETCHER.

A colored man in Kentucky, who had occasion to write commendatory of an article in last month's Lippincott, by E. A. Pollard, the Southern historian, remarks, with respect to the advice to colored men to eschew Northern course. Because few colored men are fit for office, they must choose between these carpetbaggers who profess friendship and the same pelitical views, and the native white Southrons

who are unwilling that the colored people shall have any political rights. In a letter to the Baltimore American, Mr. Pollard admits the force of this view, and declares, what he has long held as the dominant and characteristic principle of the negro problem, that the education to adjust the negro in the South, and to render a conservative solution of the fifteenth amendment, is to commence with the whites of the South rather than with

The letter continues: "On the whole, the negro has done his part; he has given proofs of a capacity and disposition to undertake his ling him that he would inform the Bey of his new career in an inoffensive and promising bravery, the haughty chieftain replied, "Thou manner, and he holds out a standing offer to the South of peaceful relations. It is rather the white persons who are to be schooled and educated up to the necessities of the question."

Apparently the letter of the admiring colored Kentuckian has had a marked effect upon the historian, who, in the end, sees the adjustment is to be of the whites rather than the blacks. ties, and partially discovers both policies for the solution of the Southern question.

One of the policies he clearly defines as the old surrender to the late Southern dominants, and let negro development be an unimportant sequence. In other words, the regulation of the colored freeman, the settlement of the great conflict and its irreparable losses, rested simply in his being turned over to the temper and caprice of the South. Let the negro alone; to return the fugitives who sought the protec- do not disturb him, but render us all right, and tion of the national flag, in the initial measure | we will take care of this section. By all means do not disturb the old relative order of things, and the negro will be adjusted to the South.

> The other policy was, to adjust the negro to loyalty to the General Government, to unalterably establish loyalty, by making, first, citizens of the loyal; and second, to restrain disloyalty by that rigid and unswerving political discipline known as reconstruction; and lastly, to restore the relations, as soon as a guarantee of lovalty and order should be given to Govern-

The difference between these two policies eing in the adjustment to the South or to lovalty, the reinstatement and revivication of old sectionalities, or the acknowledgment and allegiance to the General Government, the latter obtained as a safeguard against another revolt from the same causes. Two classes existed in equality have been on the side of the Govern- the South. Two classes do now exist there; and how readily one of these classes has adjusted itself to reconstruction and nationality, Mr. Pollard has truly described. Now, "it is rather the white persons of the South who are to be schooled and educated up to the necessities of the question," or adjusted to loyalty and the principle of enfranchised liberty. The situation may have all sorts of phases, going badly against, yet the solid rally of the blacks in support of the carpet-baggers has absolute significance.

When, if ever, this advice of the able and enthusiastic Virginian is heeded, the ugly feaness, while pouring out our gratitude, thoughts ture of the two people offensively and defenfying the fifteenth amendment, used the last resource of political morality to avoid the war Have we forgotten that for years we of the of races-the armed conflict of labor and capital. England's failure in this respect is marked by crushed Jamaica, and the desire for peace and quiet draws a veil over the probable results of liberty without enfranchisement in our country. Politically we are beyond this, yet the

unpromising and unsettling feature of this political array should and would disappear. This advice made practical, there would be no dearth muscle to more congenial sections. Ku-Kluxism would disappear and land monopolies become unnecessary. Congress relieved from its sentinel-like duty, would turn its attention specifically to those great questions affecting the national progress. In fact, the picture South would be politically and physically changed.

"Total Depravity." -One of our bravest preachers says, "I have great hope of a wick-ed man; slender hope of a mean one. A wickstand me, friends, as clamoring for false equality ed man may be converted and become a pre--an equality of ignorance and learning, of eminent saint. A mean man ought to be con-We are open to the arts of such demagogues. doing it. Chicago and Cincinnati are abun- virtue and vice, of respectability and low- verted six or seven times, one right after the The name of liberty is sweet in our ears, and dantly able to maintain a dozen each. We mindedness. They never ought to be, and, other, to give him a fair start and put him on